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Anti-Abolition Tracts.---No. 2.

FREE NEGROISM;

OR,

RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION

IN THE

North and the West India Islands.

WITH

STATISTICS OF THE DECAY OF COMMERCE — IDLENESS OF
THE NEGRO—HIS RETURN TO SAVAGEISM, AND THE
EFFECT OF EMANCIPATION UPON THE FARMING,
MECHANICAL AND LABORING CLASSES.

SECOND EDITION, REVISED AND ENLARGED.

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ANTI-ABOLITION TRACTS.

For twenty-five or thirty years, the Abolitionists have deluged the country with innumerable books, pamphlets, and tracts inculcating their false and pernicious doctrines. Little or nothing has ever been done in the same way towards counteracting their influence. Thousands now feel that such publications are indispensably necessary. In order to supply what it is believed is a wide-felt want, the undersigned have determined to issue a series of "Anti-Abolition Tracts," embracing a concise discussion of current political issues, in such a cheap and popular form, and at such a merely nominal price for large quantities, as ought to secure for them a very extensive circulation. Two numbers of these Tracts have already been issued. No. 1 gives a critical analysis of the real causes of our present deplorable difficulties, and shows how, and how only, the Union can be restored. No. 2 is a brief history of the Results of Emancipation, showing its wretched and miserable failure, and that Negro Freedom is simply a tax upon White Labor. The facts in relation to the real condition of the Freed Negroes in Hayti, Jamaica, etc., have been carefully suppressed by the Abolition papers, but they ought to be laid before the public at once, so that the evils which now afflict Mexico, Hayti, and all countries where the Negro-equalizing doctrines have been tried, may be averted from our country forever.

No. 1.—ABOLITION AND SECESSION: or Cause and Effect, together with the Remedy for our Sectional Troubles. By a Unionist.

No. 2.—FREE NEGROISM: or Results of Emancipation in the North and the West India Islands; with Statistics of the Decay of Commerce, Illnesses of the Negro, his Return to Savagism, and the Effect of Emancipation upon the Farming, Mechanical, and Laboring Classes.

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EMANCIPATION AND ITS RESULTS.

INTRODUCTORY.

GIGANTIC efforts are now being made to convince the people of the North that the overthrow of the present relations of the black and white races in the South, or what is mistakenly called "the Abolition of Slavery," would be a great benefit to all concerned—a benefit to the white race, to the negro race, and a grand step in the progress of civilization and Christianity. Now the simple TRUTH is the exact opposite of this. To overthrow the present relation of the races is to injure both the white man and the negro, and to inflict a deadly blow upon the cause of humanity, civilization, and Christianity. We only need to approach this subject in a spirit of candid inquiry, and to bring it to the touchstone of FACT. It is proposed to show in the following pages—

First. The effects of emancipation in the Northern States in the increase of crime, pauperism, and vice among the freed negroes;

Second. Its results in the West-India Islands, where it has ruined production, destroyed commerce, and where the negro is fast relapsing into his original African savagism;

Third. The effect of Free Negroism upon the commerce, wealth, and business of the world, and especially upon the *white laboring and producing classes*, in producing a scarcity of tropical productions, and a consequent increase of price, thus allowing Negro Idleness to tax WHITE LABOR.

The inherent right or wrong of any

measure may be fairly determined by its effect. That which produces crime, pauperism, immorality, poverty, and misery can not in the nature of things be right. Theories vanish before the stern arbiter of FACTS, and to that unerring tribunal we appeal.

PART I.

FREE NEGROISM IN THE NORTH.

SOON after the close of the Revolutionary War, a few individuals, mostly Quakers, commenced efforts for the emancipation of negroes then held as so-called slaves in all the States, except Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. It was a purely philanthropic movement, and had no more connection with politics than have the various missionary societies now in existence for diffusing Christianity in Burmah or China. Several States were induced to follow the example of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, namely, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New-Hampshire, Vermont, New-York, and New-Jersey. In New-Jersey and New-York emancipation was gradual, and though provided for in the former State in 1784, and in the latter in 1799, "slavery" did not entirely disappear until 1820, '27. Here emancipation ceased, and did it ever occur to any one to inquire why, all of a sudden, this should be so? If it were a benefit to take from the negro the care and guidance of white men, why did not all the rest of the States follow the example? This question is better answered by the detail of a few facts.

It was not without grave apprehensions as to the result that emancipation had been inaugurated, and it was only nine years after Pennsylvania had set the example in 1780, that Benjamin Franklin issued an Appeal for aid to his society "to form a plan for the promotion of industry, intelligence, and morality among the free blacks." How far Franklin's benevolent scheme had fallen short of his anticipations, may be judged of from the fact that forty-seven years after Pennsylvania had passed her act of emancipation, *one third* of the convicts in her penitentiaries were negroes or mulattoes! Some of the other States were even in a worse condition, *one half* of the convicts in the penitentiary of New-Jersey being freed negroes. But Massachusetts was almost as badly off, as appears from the report of the "Boston Prison Discipline Society."

This benevolent Association included among its members, Rev. Francis Wayland, Rev. Austin Edwards, Rev. Leonard Woods, Rev. William Jenks, Rev. B. B. Wisner, Rev. Edward Beecher, Lewis Tappan, Esq., John Tappan, Esq., Hon. John Bliss, and Hon. Samuel M. Hopkins. In the First Annual Report of the Society, dated June 2d, 1826, they enter into an investigation "of the progress of crime, with the causes of it," from which we make the following extract:

"DEGRADED CHARACTER OF THE COLORED POPULATION. — The first cause, existing in society, of the frequency and increase of crime is the *degraded character of the colored population*. The facts, which are gathered from the Penitentiaries, to show how great a proportion of the convicts are colored, even in those States where the colored population is small, show most strikingly the connection between ignorance and vice."

The Report proceeds to sustain its assertions by statistics, which prove, that, in Massachusetts, where the free colored people constituted *one seventy-fourth* part of the population, they supplied *one sixth* part of the convicts in her Penitentiary; that in New-York, where the free colored people

constituted *one thirty-fifth* part of the population, they supplied more than *one fourth* part of the convicts; that in Connecticut and Pennsylvania, where the colored people constituted *one thirty-fourth* part of the population, they supplied more than *one third* part of the convicts; and that in New-Jersey, where the colored people constituted *one thirteenth* part of the population, they supplied more than *one third* part of the convicts.

In the second annual report of the Society, dated June 1st, 1827, the subject is again alluded to, and tables are given, showing more fully the degraded character of the freed negro population. "The returns from the several prisons," says the report, "show that the white convicts are remaining nearly the same, or are diminishing, while the colored convicts are *increasing*. At the same time the white population is increasing in the Northern States much faster than the colored population." The following table is taken from the report:

	Whole number of Convicts.	Colored Convicts.	Proportion.
In Massachusetts, ..	313	50	1 to 6
In New-York,	381	101	1 to 4
In New-Jersey, ..	67	33	1 to 2

Were not these facts and statistics powerful arguments for arresting emancipation? The other States, seeing its evil effects, took the alarm. Some of them passed laws prohibiting the freed negroes from coming within them, and it began to be declared that it was much easier and less expensive to manage "slaves" than free blacks. So great was the reaction which the disastrous experiment of emancipation produced, that some of the States passed laws prohibiting emancipation, unless upon condition that the freed negroes be removed from the country. Thus the Colonization Society arose. It was argued that if the negro could not rise to any respectable condition here, it might be owing to the prejudice against his color and the social outlawry visited upon him. To place him, therefore, in a position where none of these influences could affect him, it was pro-

posed to colonize all who were freed, and, for many years, negro "philanthropy" exhausted itself in this direction. The Society was popular at one time, even at the South. It was regarded by some as the agent or means which would gradually do away with "slavery," and by others as simply an organization to get rid of the menubus of freed negroes. In 1826 the Society, by a resolution, declared itself as "not designing to interfere with slavery where it existed, nor yet as endeavoring to perpetuate its existence." This did not suit the more radical members, and Wm. Lloyd Garrison, James G. Birney, Gerrit Smith, and others, who had ranked among its prominent supporters, shortly after withdrew from it. In 1833 the British Parliament passed the act for the West-India emancipation, and the result was a great impulse to the cause of anti-slavery in the United States.

But no more States could be induced to try emancipation. The advocates of emancipation formed societies, and raised the cry of "immediate abolition." They deluged Congress with petitions, and the country with tracts, pamphlets, and newspapers. Thousands and millions of pages of printed matter were sent out, but all in vain. "Moral suasion" accomplished nothing, and "slavery" not only remained as firm as ever, but it had extended and fortified itself in such a manner that the Abolitionists themselves gave up their "immediate abolition" demand in utter despair. They cried, but no one listened. They expostulated, but the public heeded them not. The freed negroes of the North were a standing monument to the folly of Abolitionism. They had not progressed, or shown themselves active, enterprising members of society. They would black boots, whitewash and do other menial offices, and they would hold conventions and pass ridiculous resolutions, but as for clearing up land and settling themselves in independent circumstances, they would not. In 1852 Gerrit Smith, who has done more for freed blacks than any

other man, for he gave all who would accept them, free homes on his lands, complained in a letter to Governor Hunt that "the most of them preferred to rot both *physically and morally* in cities, rather than become farmers or mechanics in the country." His own experiment with them resulted in signal failure. Even Horace Greeley, in a moment of apparent forgetfulness, declared in the *Tribune*, September 22d, 1855, that "nine tenths of the free blacks have no idea of setting themselves to work except as the hirelings or servitors of white men; no idea of building a church or other serious enterprise, except through beggary of the whites. *As a class, the blacks are indolent, improvident, servile and licentious.*"

We have shown what the condition of the freed negro population of the North was in 1826-27, according to the statistics of the Boston Prison Discipline Society. We will now give some figures and facts from the United States Census Report of 1850, showing the number of black and white convicts in the penitentiaries of the four States of Massachusetts, New-York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, and the proportion of free negro convicts over the whites:

POPULATION IN 1850.				
	Mass.	N. Y.	Penn.	Ohio.
Whites,.....	685,450	3,048,325	2,258,160	1,955,050
Free Negroes,...	9,061	45,009	18,026	25,179

NUMBER IN THE PENITENTIARIES AND STATE PRISONS.				
	Mass.	N. Y.	Penn.	Ohio.
Whites,.....	389	1,850	88	362
Free Negroes,...	47	267	109	44

It will be seen from the above, that in Massachusetts there was one white convict to every 2533 of white population. In New-York there was one white convict to every 2208 of white population. In Pennsylvania one to every 6884, and in Ohio one to every 5400. But how stands the case as to the free negroes? In Massachusetts, there was one free negro convict to every 192 of the free negro population. In New-York one to every 190. In Pennsylvania one to every 492, and in Ohio one to every 574. It is instructive to note these facts. It appears that crime among the free negroes of

Massachusetts is over *eight* times greater than among the white population. Yet the negroes of Massachusetts have enjoyed the benefits of "impartial freedom" ever since 1780. It would seem, therefore, that the more you try to force white men's rights upon them, the lower and lower they sink in the scale of morality.

The freed negro population of the United States has increased from 59,466 in 1790, to 434,495 in 1850, and 481,823 in 1860. In some States it has become so large as to excite well-grounded alarm, and what is remarkable, some of the very States that have little or none of this population among them, are industriously engaged in trying to force it upon others. The six Eastern States, as is shown by the census returns of 1850—Maine, New-Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut—have 65,440 square miles; and in 1850 they had 23,021 freed negroes in the six States. By the census taken in 1790 they had 17,042 free and slave. The State of New-York has 46,220 square miles, and had 49,069 free negroes in 1850. She has to-day, under the census of 1860, 49,031—a decrease. The six New-England States, and New-York, have 111,660 square miles, and 72,090 free negroes. *The little State of Maryland, has but 10,755 square miles; and in 1850 she had 74,723 free negroes; according to the census of 1860, she has nearly 84,000!* The State of Pennsylvania has 46,215 square miles, lying upon the northern border of the State of Maryland, only divided by an imaginary line, and she had 53,626 free negroes in 1850. Thus we see that the State of Maryland has not one fourth as many square miles as Pennsylvania, and yet Maryland has, by the census of 1860, 27,345 more free blacks than the State of Pennsylvania. The State of Delaware has, by the census of 1860, 19,723 free negroes. The District of Columbia has 11,107 free negroes, and if no slaves had been removed before the abolition of "slavery," this number would have been increased to 14,000—and this, too, in a territory less than ten miles square!

Here, then, we see the comparatively small territory comprising the States of Maryland, Delaware, and the District of Columbia, with no less than 115,000 free negroes! Set free all their "slave" negro population, which previous to the emancipation in the District of Columbia must have been about 100,000, and there would be 215,000 free negroes on 13,000 square miles, or one negro to every $2\frac{1}{2}$ white persons! No people can stand such an incubus of black laziness, vice, and crime as this state of affairs would produce, to say nothing of degrading the white population to a level with the negro. It will not be, it can not be a long time before the cry, "Abolition of free negroism," will be raised in Maryland and Delaware, unless the people are deprived of all right of self-government. If allowed to go on, free negroism will yet produce a social convulsion in those States and elsewhere, to which even civil war, with all its horrors, will be but a faint parallel. Robespierre and Brissot, in 1791, tried the "impartial freedom" of Sumner and Greeley, in St. Domingo, and Alison has vividly painted the result. Speaking of the Haytien tragedy, he says: "*That negroes marched with spiked infants on their spears, instead of colors; then sawed asunder the male prisoners, and violated the females on the dead bodies of their husbands.*" The mind of white persons can scarcely conceive of such infernal atrocities, and yet they are common to negroes, when perverted into what is called freedom.

From all that has been presented, then, it is easy to see that the present condition of the freed negroes of the North is of the most degraded character, and after fifty years of freedom, they are worse instead of better off. They are engaged in no *productive* employments; they furnish a large proportion of our criminals; they fill our alms-houses; and hence are a constant tax upon white labor. If their number according to the population were as great as it was when Massachusetts and Pennsylvania were complaining of the burden they cast

upon them, our people would not stand the incubus it would be upon their labor and industry. The free negroes of the North do not now, owing to the immigration and the immense white population, form an appreciable element of society. If they did, our people would demand a remedy, even to a return of these negroes to the care and protection of persons who would guarantee that they should not become public burdens. Society scarcely appreciates the burden of one negro living upon the industry of 100 whites, as in Massachusetts, but when free negroes become as numerous as in Maryland, where there is one to every five whites, they become an intolerable weight, and must irretrievably drag down any State that submits to it. The crimes and indolence of these people are not, however, so much to be charged to their account as to the whites, who, with sufficient intelligence to know and comprehend this race, and their duties toward it, shut their eyes from mere *party* spirit, to absolute facts, and keep on neglecting and persecuting it under the name of philanthropy. The effort to make the negro live out the life or manifest the capabilities of the white man, is like trying to force the woman to live the life of a man, or a child to exhibit the capabilities of the adult, or an ox to perform the duties of a horse! Each one of God's creatures has his specific organization and his specific life, and it is just as reasonable to expect a white man to be an angel as it is to expect a negro to be a white man; that is, to act as a white man, to think as a white man, or to work as a white man. Hence it is, as we have shown, that crime, disease, and death mark the career of Free Negroism. It destroys the negro, drags down white men, burdens them with taxes, and must inevitably end, where the number of the two races approximate, in social convulsions and a horrible and revolting war of races.

PART II.

FREE NEGROISM ELSEWHERE.

HAVING taken a brief glance at free

negroism among ourselves, we will now take a general survey of it elsewhere. Freeing the negro in temperate latitudes, where the number was limited, was a matter of no moment in its effect upon the interest of commerce or civilization. White labor, better adapted to those regions, rushed in to supply its place, and if no emancipation had occurred, the result would have been even more healthy, for the negro labor, rendered unprofitable, would have been sent southward, where it would have been productively employed in raising articles to be exchanged for the skilled labor of more northern latitudes. In order, therefore, to see the really disastrous effects of free negroism, we must turn our attention to that vast tropical territory which has been cursed with this miserable delusion. Many people, perhaps, have no idea of the vast territory, which now lies an uncultivated waste, solely from the effects of removing the negro from the control of the superior race. The entire continent of North and South-America, from the Rio Grande on the North to Brazil on the South, is to-day, little more than a desert waste. But this is not all. Those beautiful and fertile islands—the West-Indies—with the exception of Cuba and Porto Rico, are in the same condition. Let us see how much land is thus lying unproductive and neglected.

The number of square miles in the territory to which we have alluded, is as follows:

	Square miles.
Mexico,.....	829,916
Central America,.....	155,770
Venezuela,.....	426,712
New-Granada,.....	521,948
Ecuador,.....	287,638
British Guiana,.....	96,000
Dutch Guiana,.....	59,765
French Guiana,.....	22,500
West-India Islands,.....	150,000
Total,.....	2,550,249

The United States and Territories comprise an area of 2,946,166 square miles, so that here is an extent of territory nearly equal to the entire length and breadth of our country, which, with here and there an exception, lies

an unproductive waste. If the curse of God had rested upon it, and, like the Cities of the Plain, it had been covered with a bituminous lake, its condition would not be materially different. But, instead of that, the Creator made it originally the most glorious land the sun ever shone upon. Perpetual summer reigns, and the fertility of the soil is as exhaustless as the sea. The variety and extent of its productions are almost unbounded, but, as God said before he made Adam, "Lo! there is no one to till the ground." The negro freed, basks in idleness, and only performs just sufficient labor to keep life in his body. The earth, however, is so rich in spontaneous productions, that the labor which necessity requires, is comparatively none; and hence the negro indulges his constitutional complaint of laziness to its full extent. It would require more space than we have at our disposal to give a review of the decrepitude and decay of the vast extent of territory from the Rio Grande to the Amazon. But a brief extract from Prof. Holton's work on *New-Granada*,* will give an indication of it. Speaking of the Valley of the Cauca, in that country, he says:

"What more could nature do for this people, or what has she withholden from them? What production of any zone would be unattainable by patient industry, *if they knew of such a virtue?* But their valley seems to be enriched with the greatest fertility and the finest climate in the world, only to show the *miraculous power of idleness* and mirth to keep land poor. Here the family have sometimes *omitted their dinner, just because there was nothing to eat in the house!* Maize, cocoa, and rice, when out of season, can hardly be had for love or money; so this valley, a very Eden by nature, is filled with *hunger and poverty.*"

Now there are over 2,000,000 of square miles essentially in the same position—the inhabitants, degraded in

morals, lazy in habits, and worthless in every respect. The improvements under the Spaniards are gone to decay and ruin, while the mongrel population do nothing except insult the name of "God and Liberty" by indulging in pronunciamientos and revolutions!

THE WEST-INDIA ISLANDS.

From these Islands, where emancipation was inaugurated as an example for us to follow, we propose to draw our principal illustrations of the failure of free negroism. This is the more important, because the abolitionists still endeavor to cling to the delusion that it has been a success. The West-India Islands comprise, it is estimated, in all about 150,000 square miles, or an extent of territory as large as the States of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. Some of the smaller islands are uninhabited, but those inhabited, and more or less under cultivation, have an area, as stated in Colton's Atlas, of 96,000 square miles. Cuba takes off 42,000 square miles, leaving 54,000 in Hayti and the British and French Islands. When emancipation took place in Jamaica, in 1834, it was loudly heralded that free labor in the West-Indies would soon render "slavery" entirely unprofitable in the United States. Mr. Birney encouraged his followers with this hope, and William Lloyd Garrison even made the confident prediction that the "American slave system must inevitably perish from starvation." George Thompson, the English Abolitionist, who came over to this country about that time to fan the flame of anti-Southern agitation, declared that "soon all slave labor cotton would be repudiated by the English manufacturers." The labor of free negroes was to accomplish all this, for it was presumed that freedom would give an impetus to production, and that the enterprise and industry of the freed black men would soon far outstrip the resources of those countries where "the unprofitable and expensive system of slave labor" was still adhered to. The millennium was thus, in 1833, but just a step ahead of the Abolitionists. They had almost

* New-Granada: Twenty Months in the Andes. By Isaac F. Holton, M.A. Harper & Brothers.

clutched the El Dorado of negro perfection. But alas! for their confident anticipations and positive predictions. In six years the answer came, and it was as follows: In 1800 the West-Indies exported 17,000,000 lbs. of cotton and the United States 17,789,803 lbs. They were thus at this time about equally productive. In 1840 the West-Indies exported only 866,157 lbs. of cotton, while the United States exported 743,941,061 lbs.! Instead, therefore, of the "American system dying of starvation," as Garrison predicted, or of the British spinners refusing to use "slave" grown cotton, England went right on manufacturing "slave" grown cotton, while her "philanthropists," to keep up the delusion, began to talk about raising cotton in Africa, by free-negro labor there, and they have kept on *talking* about it, and all the while *using* the productions of "slave" labor. But, in order to give the reader a fuller and more complete view of the terrible blow the industrial resources of the world have received by emancipation in the West-India Islands, we propose to take up a few of the more important Islands, and notice their decline with some minuteness. As it was the first to try "impartial freedom," we commence with

HAYTI.

This island is divided into two parts — the western portion being Hayti proper, and the eastern forming the Dominican Republic. It is next in size to Cuba, and is regarded as the most fertile of the Antilles. The entire island is 406 miles in length by a maximum width of 163. The number of square miles is 27,690, of which 10,091 are comprised in the Haytien or negro Republic, and the balance in the Dominican. It is very difficult to arrive at the exact population of Hayti, as no definite statistics exist, but it is variously estimated at from 550,000 to 650,000. The climate, natural productions and fertility of its soil are not surpassed by any other portion of the known world. Gold, silver, platinum, mercury, copper, iron, tin, sulphur,

rock-salt, jasper, marble, etc., etc., are found among its mineral productions. The gold-mines have long since been abandoned, as has every employment requiring laborious industry. The climate is warm, but on account of the sea-breezes, generally agreeable and pleasant, even during the summer heats. Vegetation is of the richest and most luxuriant kind.

"It is extremely difficult," says a traveler, "to convey to one unacquainted with the richness and variety of the island scenery of the tropics, a correct impression of its gorgeous beauty. Islands rising from a crystal sea, clothed with a vegetation of surpassing luxuriance and splendor, and of every variety, from the tall and graceful palm, the stately and spreading mahogany, to the bright flowers that seem to have stolen their tints from the glowing sun above them. Birds, with colors as varied and gorgeous as the hues of the rainbow, flit amid the dark green foliage of the forests, and flamingoes, with their scarlet plumage, flash along the shore. Fish of the same varied hues glide through waters so clear that for fathoms below the surface they can be distinctly seen. Turn the eye where it will, on sea or land, some bright color flashes before it. Nature is here a queen indeed, and dressed for a gala day.

"In the island of St. Domingo, the rich beauty of the tropics is combined with some of the finest mountain scenery in the world. The broad, fertile lagoons, covered with groves of orange, citron, and coffee, with here and there a delicate column of smoke indicating the locality of some invisible dwelling; groves of mangroves, rising apparently from the midst of the waters, but indicating the presence of dangerous shallows, gradually become visible. No rough promontory, as upon our northern shores, meets the eye; every angle is delicately rounded, every feature of the scenery undulating and graceful."

To this surpassing beauty is added almost all the natural productions that can be conceived. The mountains are covered with forests of pine, mahog-

any, fustic, satin-wood, lignum vitæ, and other cabinet woods. All the usual tropical productions grow spontaneously in great abundance, including plantains, bananas, yams, maize, millet, oranges, pine-apples, melons, grapes, etc. The staples of cultivation are coffee, cocoa, sugar, indigo, cotton, and tobacco. Surely, such a country as this has been peculiarly blessed by the Creator, and it seems nothing less than a crime against nature to allow its exhaustless resources to remain undeveloped. But what is its history?

In 1790 Hayti was in a high state of prosperity. At that time it supplied half of Europe with sugar. It was a French colony, and contained a population which numbered about 500,000, of which 38,360 were whites, and 28,370 free negroes, mostly mulattoes. The remainder were negro "slaves." The period of which we speak was the era of the great French Revolution, when doctrines of "liberty, equality, and fraternity" had full sway in France. The colonists or white people of Hayti entered with great fervor into the support of these doctrines, but they intended them to apply to white men, and *white men only*. But this did not suit the pleasure of the "Mountain Department" of the French Assembly. That demanded "impartial freedom," and "impartial freedom" it was. In 1793 the freedom of the blacks in Hayti was decreed, and the grand experiment of "impartial freedom" commenced. The result of that experiment is now, after seventy years' trial, before the world. If the negro has any capacity for self-government, any of the inherent, natural abilities or energies of the white man, surely he ought to have shown them during this time. With a country whose natural resources and fertility are beyond question, and with a climate exactly suited to the physical peculiarities of the race, surely there should have been no such word as fail. The island had been brought to a high state of cultivation, and to an exalted commercial prosperity by the French planters. It was turned over to its new masters

like a garden ready cultivated, and all they had to do was to keep it as it was, and go on in the career of prosperity which had been so successfully inaugurated. But what are the facts? A few statistics will show, more vividly than words, how fearfully the island has retrograded, and how fallacious are all the hopes which have been indulged in, as to the industry of negroes, when left to themselves. In 1790 the value of the exports of Hayti were \$27,828,000, the principal productions being as follows:

Sugar, lbs.,.....	163,405,220
Coffee, ".....	68,151,180
Cotton, ".....	6,286,126
Indigo, ".....	930,016

In 1826, about thirty years after emancipation, the figures stood thus:

Sugar, lbs.,.....	32,864
Coffee, ".....	32,189,784
Cotton, ".....	620,972
Indigo, ".....	none.

Now there is no sugar at all exported, while coffee and logwood have become the principal items of export. The former is gathered wild from the mountains, or from the old abandoned French plantations, while all that is required in order to get the latter is to cut down the tree, which grows spontaneously, and take it to market. It is, therefore, seen that all *cultivation* is abandoned, and only those articles are now exported which require no labor to produce them. In 1849, the latest date of which we have any reliable statistics, and sixty years after emancipation, the exports of the articles we have named were as follows:

Sugar, lbs.,.....	none.
Coffee, ".....	30,608,343
Cotton, ".....	544,516
Indigo, ".....	none.

It is impossible to state, with accuracy, what the present value of the exports of Hayti amount - to. Mr. Sumner, in a recent speech in the Senate, placed them at \$2,673,000. This, we apprehend, is just about double the real value. A recent traveler, Mr. Underhill, says he could find *no statistics* in Hayti as to her commerce, and Mr. Sumner's figures are, doubtless, mere guess-work. But grant what Mr.

Sumner says, and what a doleful picture of commercial ruin it presents! In 1790, the exports of Hayti amounted to \$27,828,000, and now, according even to abolition testimony, they foot up only \$2,683,000! Comment is unnecessary.

The statistics we have quoted are taken from the *U. S. Commercial Relations*," Vol. I. pp. 561-2, officially reported to Congress, and published by order of that body. But all these figures are fully corroborated by every candid and impartial traveler. A foreign resident at the capital of Hayti, under a recent date, writes:

"This country has made, since its emancipation, no progress whatever. The population partially live upon the produce of the grown wild coffee plantations, remnants of the French dominion. Properly speaking, plantations after the model of the English in Jamaica or the Spanish in Cuba, do not exist here. Hayti is the most beautiful and the most fertile of the Antilles. It has more mountains than Cuba, and more space than Jamaica. Nowhere the coffee-tree could better thrive than here, as it especially likes a mountainous soil. But the *indolence of the negro has brought the once splendid plantations to decay*. They now gather coffee *only from the grown wild trees*. The cultivation of the sugar-cane has *entirely disappeared*, and the island that once supplied the one half of Europe with sugar now supplies its own wants from Jamaica and the United States."

In order to show the present condition of Hayti more fully, we quote from a work just published in London, entitled *The West-Indies—their Moral and Social Condition*. The author, Mr. E. B. Underhill, was sent out by the Baptist Missionary Society of London, and is an abolitionist of the deepest dye. While finding all the excuses he can for the decay of the island, he is forced to own the truth. He describes his journey to Port au Prince as follows:

"We passed by many or through *many abandoned plantations, the buildings in ruin*, the sugar-mills de-

cayed, and the iron pans *strewn the roadside, cracked and broken*. But for the law that forbids, on pain of confiscation, the export of all metals, they would long ago have been sold to foreign merchants.

"Only once in this long ride did we come upon a mill in use; it was grinding canes, in order to manufacture the syrup from which *tafia* is made, a kind of inferior rum, the intoxicating drink of the country. The mill was worked by a large over-shot or water-wheel, the water being brought by an aqueduct from a very considerable distance. With the exception of a few banana-gardens, or small patches of maize round the cottages, nowhere did this magnificent and fertile plain show signs of cultivation.

"In the time of the French occupation before the Revolution of 1793, thousands of hogsheads of sugar were produced; *now, not one. All is decay and desolation*. The pastures are deserted, and the prickly pear covers the land once laughing with the bright hues of the sugar-cane.

"The hydraulic works, erected at vast expense for irrigation, *have crumbled to dust. The plow is an unknown implement of culture*, although so eminently adapted to the great plains and deep soil of Hayti.

"A country so capable of producing for export, and therefore for the enrichment of its people—besides sugar, and coffee, cotton, tobacco, the cacao bean, spices, every tropical fruit, and many of the fruits of Europe—*lies uncultivated, unoccupied, and desolate*. Its rich mines are neither explored nor worked; and its beautiful woods rot in the soil where they grow. A little logwood is exported, but ebony, mahogany, and the finest building timber rarely fall before the woodman's ax, and then only for local use. The present inhabitants despise *all servile labor*, and are, for the most part, content with *the spontaneous productions of the soil and forest*."

The degraded, barbarous condition of the negroes of Hayti is well illustrated in a description given by Mr. Underhill, of what is known as "the

religion of Vaudoux, or serpent-worship." It is a native African superstition, and proves, beyond all question, the rapid return of the Hayti negroes to the original savagism of their African ancestors. Mr. U. gives a full description of the ceremonies of this heathenish rite, as described to him by one of the resident missionaries, which we regret we have not space to give entire. The performances are preceded by the following barbaric chorus!

"Eh! eh! Bomba, hen! hen!
Canga bafia te
Canga mourne de le
Canga de ki li
Canga li."

The object worshiped is a *small green snake*, and the custom is a purely African heathenism. The negro always has a predisposition to it, but it is repressed when he is under white control. Of late years it has been revived extensively in Hayti.

"The Vaudoux," says Mr. Underhill, "meet in a retired spot, designated at a previous meeting. On entering they take off their shoes, and bind about their bodies handkerchiefs, in which a red color predominates. The king is known by the scarlet band around his head, worn like a crown, and a scarf of the same color distinguishes the queen. The object of adoration, the serpent, is placed on a stand. It is then worshiped; after which the box is placed on the ground, the queen mounts upon it, is seized with violent tremblings, and gives utterance to oracles in response to the prayers of the worshipers. A dance closes the ceremony. The king puts his hand on the serpent's box; a tremor seizes him, which is communicated to the circle. A delirious whirl or dance ensues, lightened by the free use of tafia. The weakest fall, as if dead, upon the spot. The bacchanalian revelers, always dancing and turning about, are borne away into a place near at hand, where sometimes, under the triple excitement of *promiscuous intercourse*, drunkenness and darkness, scenes are enacted, enough to make

the impassible gods of Africa itself gnash their teeth with horror."

What a disgusting picture of savagism and heathenism does not this present! And yet, there are people who try to palm off upon the world the idea that negroes can remain civilized when left to themselves. This same missionary, Mr. Webley, writing to the London *Missionary Herald*, in 1850, says: "These Vaudoux almost deluge the Haytien part of the Island. They practice witchcraft and mysticism to an almost indefinite extent. They are singular *adepts at poisoning*. A person rarely escapes them when *he has been fixed upon as a victim*." It is thus seen that Obeism is quite as prevalent in Hayti as it is in the interior of Africa. What more need be said to prove the relapse of these negroes into their original barbarism? Such, then, is the condition of Hayti. Production gone, commerce gone, and the negroes themselves returning to their original African heathenism!

JAMAICA.

Jamaica is about 150 miles long by about 50 in width. Its area is about 6400 square miles, or 4,000,000 of acres. It is the largest and most valuable of the British West-India Islands. The last census taken was in 1844, when the population stood as follows: Whites, 15,779; negroes, 293,128; mulattoes, 68,529. By the census of 1861, the only one taken since, the population is stated as follows: whites, 13,816; mulattoes, 81,065; negroes, 346,374. The whole number of persons who can read is set down at 80,724, and 50,726 as able to read and write. It will be seen from this that over 300,000 can neither read nor write. The education is evidently confined to the whites and mulattoes, leaving the negroes in their natural ignorance, where they have neither oral nor any other instruction. Of course "educated" negroes are simply monstrosities, but as some people seem to suppose that "freedom" will develop such "white crows," we have cited these statistics to show that Ja

maica has not yet produced them, after a twenty-five years' trial. The white population, it will also be seen, is gradually decreasing — dying out — through the blood of the negro.

The productions of Jamaica are similar to those of the other West-India Islands. The soil is deep and fertile, and one of the best in the world for the production of sugar, coffee, pimento, and ginger. It is also rich in minerals, cabinet-woods, etc., and the low grounds yield abundantly the plantain, banana, yam, sweet potatoes, pine-apples, oranges, pomegranates, etc., etc. Jamaica has been in possession of England ever since the days of Oliver Cromwell, and at the time of the prohibition of the importation of negroes from Africa in 1807, was in a most flourishing condition. Her history, since then, has been one of gradual but sure decay. The restriction upon her supply of labor produced some decrease in her productions, and the abolition of "slavery" in 1833 hastened the final destruction of the island. The negroes freed in 1833 were to serve five years as apprentices, and on the first of August, 1838, to have their unconditional liberty. For this injury to the negro, and crime toward the white man, the planters were allowed about \$30,000,000, the whole sum expended in all the islands, by the British government, being about \$100,000,000. And what is the result? Facts speak louder than words, and to them we appeal. The value of the exports of Jamaica, (we quote from the *Cyclopædia of Commerce*, published by Harper and Brothers, of this city,) before and after the emancipation, will illustrate what we say:

BEFORE EMANCIPATION.

Years.	Value of Exports.
1809	£3,033,234
1810	2,303,579

AFTER EMANCIPATION.

1853	£837,276
1854	932,316

The productions of Jamaica show, forcibly, what the above figures exhibit by values. In 1805, two years before the prohibition of African emi-

gration, the productions of Jamaica were as follows:

PRODUCTS OF JAMAICA IN 1805.

Sugar,.....	150,352 hhds.
Rum.....	46,837 punch.
Pimento,.....	1,041,540 lbs.
Coffee,.....	17,951,923 lbs.

The production of the island, at that time, was at its highest point. The sugar was the largest crop ever produced in Jamaica. The loss of labor was severely felt, especially in the sugar-culture, so that in 1834, the year emancipation was effected, the production stood as follows:

PRODUCTS OF JAMAICA IN 1834.

Sugar,.....	81,756 hhds.
Rum,.....	32,111 punch.
Pimento,.....	3,605,400 lbs.
Coffee,.....	17,725,731 lbs.

In the very next year, the first one under free negroism, there was a manifest falling off. The sugar production was only 77,970 hhds., nearly 10,000 hhds. less; coffee was only 10,593,018 lbs., a decrease of over 7,000,000 lbs., and this decrease has steadily continued, until in 1856 the production of Jamaica stood as follows:

PRODUCTS OF JAMAICA IN 1856.

Sugar,.....	25,920 hhds.
Rum,.....	14,470 punch.
Pimento,.....	6,848,622 lbs.
Coffee,.....	3,328,147 lbs.

The only crop that had increased was that of pimento, or allspice, the increase of which, instead of being an evidence of the industry of the negro, is the reverse. The pimento-tree grows wild in Jamaica, and rapidly spreads over land formerly under cultivation. As the plantations were abandoned, they were overrun with this tree, and the negro women and children picked the berries without the trouble of cultivation. The coffee-tree, to a certain extent, is like the pimento, and grows wild in many places. Hence the production of coffee has not fallen off in the same proportion as that of sugar, which can only be produced by careful cultivation. The coffee crop of Jamaica, however, was in 1813, before the overthrow of "slave" labor, 34,045,

585 lbs., but the average crop for the past ten years has not been over 5,000,000 lbs., while the sugar crop had fallen in 1853 as low as 20,000 hhds.! These facts and statistics demonstrate the down-hill progress of Jamaica, and show what may be expected wherever the experiment of free negroism is attempted.

The rapidity with which estates have been abandoned in Jamaica, and the decrease in the taxable property of the island, is also astounding. The movable and immovable property of Jamaica was once estimated at £50,000,000, or nearly \$250,000,000. In 1850 the assessed valuation had fallen to £11,500,000. In 1851 it was reduced to £9,500,000, and Mr. Westmoreland, in a speech in the Jamaica House of Assembly, stated it was believed that the falling off would be £2,000,000 more in 1852. From a report made to the House of Assembly of the number and extent of the plantations abandoned during the years 1848, '49, '50, '51 and '52, we gather the following facts:

Sugar-estates abandoned,	128
“ “ partially abandoned, . . .	71
Coffee-plantations abandoned, . . .	96
“ “ partially abandoned, . . .	66

The total number of acres thus thrown out of cultivation in five years was 391,187! This is only a sample, for the same process has been going on ever since emancipation. In the five years immediately succeeding emancipation, the abandoned estates stood as follows:

Sugar-estates, 140,	168,032 acres.
Coffee-plantations, 465,	188,400 “

These plantations employed 49,383 laborers, whose industry was, therefore, at once lost to the world, and the articles they had raised were just so much subtracted from consumption. The price of these articles, sugar and coffee, was increased on account of the diminished production, and that increased cost represented the tax which the world paid for the privilege of allowing Sambo to loll in idleness. The *Cyclopædia of Commerce* says, “that the negro is rapidly reced-

ing into a savage state, and that unless there is a large and immediate supply of immigrants, *all society will come to a speedy end*, and the island become a second Hayti.”

Such, then, is the condition of Jamaica, as stated in an impartial work. Let us hear now what the London *Times* candidly owns up to. It says:

“There is *no blinking the truth*. Years of bitter experience, years of hope deferred, of self-devotion unrequited, of prayers unanswered, of sufferings derided, of insults unresented, of contumely patiently endured, have convinced us of the truth. It must be spoken out loudly and energetically, despite the wild mockings of ‘howling cant.’ *The freed West-India slave will not till the soil for wages*; the free son of the ex-slave is as obstinate as his sire. He will not cultivate lands which he has not bought for his own. Yams, mangoes and plantains—these satisfy his wants; he cares not for yours. Cotton, sugar, coffee and tobacco he cares but little for. And what matters it to him that the Englishman has sunk his thousands and tens of thousands on mills, machinery and plants, which now totter on the languishing estate that for years has only returned him beggary and debt? He eats his yams and sniggers at ‘Buckra.’ We know not why this should be, but so it is. The negro has been bought with a price—the price of English *taxation* and English *toil*. He has been redeemed from bondage *by the sweat and travail of some millions of hard-working Englishmen*. Twenty millions of pounds sterling—one hundred millions of dollars—have been *distilled from the brains and muscles of the free English laborer*, of every degree, to fashion the West-India negro into a ‘free, independent laborer.’ ‘Free and independent’ enough he has become, God knows, but laborer he *is not*; and, so far as we can see, *never will be*. He will sing hymns and quote texts, but honest, steady industry he not only detests but *despises*.”

Such is the testimony of the London *Times*—such the universal evi-

dence of every candid individual. How different is this picture from that predicted by the Abolitionists! The Rev. Dr. Channing, the Dr. Cheever of that day, made the following prophecy in 1833, as the result of emancipation:

"The planters, in general, would suffer little, if at all, from emancipation. This change would make them *richer* rather than poorer. One would think, indeed, from the common language on the subject, that the negroes were to be annihilated by being set free; that the whole labor of the South was to be destroyed by a single blow. But the colored man, when freed, will not vanish from the soil. He will stand there with the same muscles as before, only strung anew by liberty; with the same limbs to toil, and with *stronger motives* to toil than before. He will work from *hope*, not fear; will work for himself, not for others; and unless all the principles of human nature are reversed under a black skin, he will work *better than before*. We believe that agriculture will revive, our worn-out soils will be renewed, and the whole country assume a brighter aspect under *free labor*."

This is the same story the Abolitionists are singing now, not having yet learned that "the principles of human nature are reversed under a black skin"—that is, of *white* human nature, and it was from a total misconception of the negro that Dr. Channing fell into his grand mistake. Mr. Anthony Trollope, an Englishman, and an anti-slavery man, who has written a book on Jamaica, seems to know rather more of the negro race than Dr. Channing did. The London *Times*, drawing its facts from Mr. Trollope, says of it:

"A servile race, peculiarly fitted by nature for the hardest physical work in a burning climate. The negro has no desire for property strong enough to induce him to labor with sustained power. He lives from hand to mouth. In order that he may have his dinner and some small finery, he will work a little, but after that he is content to lie

in the sun. This in Jamaica he can very easily do, for emancipation and free trade have combined to throw enormous tracts of land out of cultivation, and on these the negro squats, getting all that he wants with *very* little trouble, and sinking, in the most resolute fashion, to the savage state. Lying under his cotton-tree, he refuses to work after ten o'clock in the morning. 'No, tankee, massa, me tired now; me no want more money.' Or, by the way of variety, he may say: 'No, workee no more; money no nuff; workee no pay.' And so the planter must see his canes foul with weeds, because he can not prevail on Sambo to earn a second shilling by going into the cane-fields. He calls him a lazy nigger, and threatens him with starvation. His answer is: 'No, massa; no starve now; God send plenty yam.' These yams, be it observed, on which Sambo lives, and on the strength of which he declines to work, are grown on the planter's own ground, and probably planted at his own expense.

"There lies the shiny, oily, odorous negro under his mango-tree, eating the luscious fruit in the sun. He sends his black urchin up for a bread-fruit, and, behold, the family table is spread. He pierces a cocoa-nut, and lo! there is his beverage. He lies on the ground, surrounded by oranges, bananas, and pine-apples. Why should he work? Let Sambo himself reply: 'No, massa, me weak in me belly; me no workee to-day: me no like workee just um little moment.'"

This is a graphic description of the negro character, where the climate gives him a chance to show out his real nature. The same author says that "one half of the sugar-estates, and *more than* one half of the coffee-plantations have gone back *into a state of bush*."

The idea of working for pay never entered in black nature. As long ago as Mungo Park traveled in Africa, he discovered that "paid servants, persons of free condition, voluntarily working for pay, *are unknown here*." No traveler in Africa, down to Dr.

Livingstone, has reversed that judgment.

In Lewis's West-Indies, written 17 years before emancipation, it is remarked: "As to free blacks, they are unfortunately lazy and improvident; most of them half-starved, and only anxious to live from hand to mouth. Even those who profess to be tailors, carpenters, or coopers are, for the most part, careless, drunken and dissipated, and never take pains sufficient to attain to any dexterity in their trades! *As for a free negro hiring himself out for plantation labor, no instance of such a thing was ever known in Jamaica.*" Earl Grey said, in the House of Lords, on June 10th, 1852, "that it was established by statistical facts that the negroes were *idle, and falling back in civilization*; that, relieved from the coercion to which they were formerly subjected, and a couple of days' labor giving them enough food for a fortnight, the climate rendering clothing and fuel not necessary to life, they had no earthly motive to give a greater amount of service than for mere subsistence." Sir H. Light and Gov. Barkley have both shown, also, that the majority of the free negroes of the West-Indies are living in idleness, and the French colonies, according to a work from M. Vacherot, published a few years ago at Paris, demonstrate the same ruinous result under their emancipation act.

Captain Hamilton, on his examination as a witness, before a select committee of Parliament, stated that "*Jamaica, without any exaggeration, had become a desert.*"

In 1850 Mr. John Bigelow, then one of the editors of the New-York *Evening Post*, paid a visit to Jamaica, and wrote a book thereon. As the testimony of an anti-slavery man his statements are given. Mr. Bigelow says that the land of that island is as prolific as any in the world. It can be bought for \$5 to \$10 per acre, and five acres confer the right of voting and eligibility to public offices. Planters offer \$1.50 per day for labor; 16

days' labor will enable a negro to buy land enough to make him a voter, and the market of Kingston offers a great demand for vegetables at all times. These facts, said Mr. Bigelow, place independence within the reach of every black. But what are the results? There has been no increase in voters in 20 years. Lands run wild. Kingston gets its vegetables from the United States.

But we will accumulate proof—pile it up, if needed. Mr. Robert Baird, who is an enthusiastic advocate of "the glorious Act of British Emancipation," on visiting the West-Indies for his health, could not fail to be struck with the desolate appearance there.

"That the West-Indians," says Mr. Baird, "are always grumbling, is an observation often heard, and, no doubt, it is very true that they are so. But let any one who thinks that the extent and clamor of the complaint exceeds the magnitude of the distress which has called it forth, go to the West-Indies and judge for himself. Let him see with his own eyes THE NEGLECTED AND ABANDONED ESTATES—THE UNCULTIVATED FIELDS, FAST HURRYING BACK INTO A STATE OF NATURE, WITH ALL THE SPEED OF TROPICAL LUXURIANCE—THE DISMANTLED AND SILENT MACHINERY, THE CRUMBLING WALLS, AND DESERTED MANSIONS, WHICH ARE FAMILIAR SIGHTS IN MOST OF THE BRITISH WEST-INDIAN COLONIES. Let him then transport himself to the Spanish Islands of Porto Rico and Cuba, and witness the life and activity which in these slave colonies prevail. Let him observe for himself the activity of the slaves—the improvements daily making in the cultivation of the fields, and in the processes carried on at the Ingenio or sugar-mills—and *the general, indescribable air of thriving and prosperity which surround the whole*—and then let him come back to England and say, if he honestly can, that the British West-Indian planters and proprietors are grumblers, who complain without adequate cause."

Ex-Governor Wood, of Ohio, who paid a visit to Jamaica in 1853, and who is no friend to "slavery," says :

"Since the blacks have been liberated, they have become indolent, insolent, degraded and dishonest. They are a rude, beastly set of vagabonds, lying naked about the streets, as filthy as the Hottentots, and I believe worse. On getting to the wharf of Kingston, the first thing the blacks of *both sexes*, *perfectly naked*, come swarming about the boat, and would dive for small pieces of coin that were thrown by the passengers. On entering the city the stranger is annoyed to death by black beggars at every step, and you must often show him your pistol or an uplifted cane to rid yourself of their importunities."

Sewell, in his work on the *Ordeal of Free Labor*, in which he defends emancipation, and pleads for still more extended privileges to the blacks, says of Kingston :

"There is not a house in decent repair ; not a wharf in good order ; no pavement, no sidewalk, no drainages, and scanty water ; no light. There is nothing like work done. Wreck and ruin, destitution and neglect. The inhabitants, taken *en masse*, are steeped to the eyelids in immorality. The population shows unnatural decrease. Illegitimacy exceeds legitimacy. Nothing is replaced that time destroys. If a brick tumbles from a house to the street, it remains there. If a spout is loosened by the wind, it hangs by a thread till it falls ; if furniture is accidentally broken, the idea of having it mended is not entertained. A God-forsaken place, without life or energy, old, dilapidated, sickly, filthy, cast away from the anchorage of sound morality, of reason and of common-sense. Yet this wretched hulk is the capital of an island the most fertile in the world. It is blessed with a climate the most glorious ; it lies rotting in the shadow of mountains that can be cultivated from summit to base with every product of tropic and temperate region. It is the mistress of a harbor wherein a

thousand line-of-battle ships can ride safely at anchor."

We might fill a volume with such quotations, showing the steady decline of the Island. But it is well to note the moral condition of the negro. The *American Missionary Association* is the strongest kind of Abolition testimony in regard to the moral condition of the negroes. The *American Missionary*, a monthly paper, and organ of the Association, for July, 1855, has the following quotation from the letters of one of the missionaries :

"*A man here may be a drunkard, a liar, a Sabbath-breaker, a profane man, a fornicator, an adulterer, and such like—and be known to be such—and go to chapel and hold up his head there, and feel no disgrace from these things*, because they are so common as to create a public sentiment in his favor. He may go to the communion-table, and cherish a hope of heaven, and not have his hope disturbed. I might tell of persons, guilty of some, if not all of these things, ministering in holy things."

The Report of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, for 1853, p. 170, says of the negroes :

"Their moral condition is very far from being what it ought to be. It is exceedingly dark and distressing. *Licentiousness prevails to a most alarming extent among the people.* . . . The almost universal prevalence of intemperance is another prolific source of the moral darkness and degradation of the people. The great mass among all classes of the inhabitants, from the governor in his palace to the peasant in his hut — from the bishop in his gown to the beggar in his rags — are *all slaves to their cups.*"

So much for "freedom" elevating the blacks. It is complained that the marriage relation is not always regarded where "slavery" exists, but it would seem, from this statement, that "slavery" had done more for the moral improvement of the negro, in this respect, than he was at all disposed to do for himself.

Mr. Underhill indorses the stories

"of the crowds of bastard children" in the Island, and says it is "too true." "Outside the nonconformist communities," he says, "neglect of marriage is almost universal." One clergyman informed me that of seventeen infants brought to his church for baptism, *fifteen*, at least, would be of illegitimate origin." In fact, from all the admissions made, it does not appear that there is any more marriage in Jamaica than in Africa. The churches, Mr. Underhill allows, are less attended than formerly, and there is evidently little of the religious training of the whites left among the people. The negro, however, has all the advantages of "impartial freedom," and "the highest offices of the state are open to colored men. They are found," says Mr. U., "in the Assembly, in the executive, on the bench and at the bar. All colors mix freely. This would be the paradise for Seward, Phillips and Greeley. Mr. Underhill estimates the annual loss of wages to the people, from the decay of estates and plantations, can not be less than £300,000, or nearly \$1,500,000! Negroes who work at all can not be prevailed upon to do so, generally, more than four days in the week, and rarely five. Mr. U. also states that it has been officially ascertained that *two thirds* of the persons employed on sugar-estates are *women and children*. Yet, notwithstanding all these facts, the anti-slaveryite still adheres to his favorite hobby. He has excuses and palliatives for his friend, the negro. True, Jamaica is ruined, but still emancipation is a success. The seasons are poor, the estates were mortgaged, the planters have not treated the blacks kindly, and they have bought patches of ground of their own rather than labor for others. Such are some of the excuses of the friends of Sambo. But the facts still stand out in bold relief, despite the assertion of "negro missionaries," who are interested in keeping up the delusion. The *facts* they do admit. They can not deny or controvert them. This is all we ask—we need none of their excuses. In order to relieve themselves of the

odium of having ruined the fairest Island of the Antilles, they will naturally look for reasons not chargeable to them. But figures do not lie. The exports of Jamaica have been gradually decreasing ever since "slavery" in the Island was interfered with, until they have dwindled down to insignificance, and, as the London *Times* says, "there is no blinking the truth—the negroes will not work for wages," and hence the tropics are going back to jungle and bush, while white men are taxed double the price they ought to be for all tropical products.

THE OTHER ISLANDS.

The careful survey we have taken of the condition of Jamaica, derived both from official statistics and the evidences of anti-slavery men, render it almost unnecessary to notice the remaining islands, where emancipation has been carried out. The story of Jamaica is the story of all. We will, however, briefly notice the condition of Trinidad and Barbadoes, for these islands are often held up by the discomfited Abolitionists as an evidence of the success of emancipation. Again we will take their own evidence to vanquish them. Trinidad contains 2020 square miles. Her soil is as fertile as any of the islands, and if production has somewhat increased within the past few years, it is owing entirely to the Coolie slave-trade.

As illustrating the terrible ordeal through which Trinidad has passed, we quote from Mr. Underhill. He says:

"Three years after emancipation, in 1841, the condition of the island was most deplorable; the laborers had, for the most part, abandoned the estates, and taken possession of plots of vacant land, especially in the vicinity of the towns, without purchase or lawful right. Vagrancy had become an alarming habit of great numbers; every attempt to take a census of the population was baffled by the frequent migrations which took place. Criminals easily evaded justice by absconding to places where they were unknown, or by hiding themselves in the

dense forests, which in all parts edged so closely on the cleared lands. Drunkenness increased to an enormous degree, assisted by planters who freely supplied rum to the laborers, to induce them to remain as cultivators on their estates. High wages were obtained, only to be squandered in amusement, revelry, and dissipation; at the same time, these high wages induced a diminished cultivation of food, and a corresponding increase in price, and in the import of provisions from the neighboring islands and continent. The laborers steadily refused to enter into any contracts which should oblige them to remain in the service of a master; this would too much have resembled the state of slavery from which they had but just emerged. It was with reference to this state of things that Lord Harris wrote in 1848: 'Liberty has been given to a heterogeneous mass of individuals, who can only comprehend license; a partition in the rights and privileges and duties of civilized society has been granted to them; they are only capable of enjoying its vices.'

With the help of Vagrant Acts and other legislative enactments, somewhat like order was established; and the introduction of Coolie labor has enabled Trinidad to recover from the state of poverty into which it has been plunged. The island, however, has been compelled to burden itself with a debt of \$725,000 on account of the expenses of the Coolie slave-trade, which is disguised under the name of apprenticeship.

According to Lord Harris, one fourth of the entire negro population of Trinidad, in 1850, were living in idleness. Estates were wholly abandoned, and poverty stalked abroad. The Coolie labor arrested this downward tendency. Between 1847 and 1856, 47,739 Coolies were introduced into the West-India possessions of Great Britain, the greater portion going to Trinidad and Guiana. These 47,739 protests against the idleness of the negro have about doubled the production of sugar in Trinidad—raising it from 20,000 to 40,000 hogsheads.

But no thanks to the negro for this. It is none of his doings. Mr. Underhill declares that **NOT ONE FOURTH** of the persons employed on the estates are negroes. Hence this increase in the sugar production of Trinidad is no evidence of the benefit of emancipation, but just the reverse.

The case of Barbadoes is still more emphatic, though the Abolitionists are never tired of referring to that island as the proof positive of the success of "free negro labor." Now, what is Barbadoes? Well, it is a small island, about large enough for a good-sized water-melon patch. It is about 21 miles long by 14 wide, and contains 100,000 acres of land, all told. It has 150,000 inhabitants, and is more thickly settled than China. There is not an acre of wild or unimproved land; not room, as Trollope says, "for a picnic." This land is monopolized by the whites; and, under a rigid system of vagrant laws, the black is compelled to work. If an idle negro is seen, he is set to work, at wages, or else compelled to DRAG A BALL AND CHAIN on the highways. Mr. Trollope says: "When emancipation came, there was no squatting ground for the poor Barbadian. He had still to work and make sugar—work quite as hard as he had done while yet a slave. He had to do that or to starve. Consequently, labor has been abundant in this island only." Now, how this "capsizes" all the stuff the anti-slaveryites tell us about Barbadoes! Not long since there appeared in the *Independent*, of this city, an article glorifying emancipation as it had affected Barbadoes. Gov. Hinks, of that island, published a letter in proof of it, and in it occurs this remarkable admission:

"In Barbadoes, I have explained already that wages have ranged from 10*d.* to 1*s.* per task, and that rate prevails generally. In addition to these wages, a small allotment of land is usually given, but on a most uncertain tenure. The laborer may be EJECTED AT ANY TIME ON A FEW DAYS' NOTICE, and he is subjected to PENALTIES FOR NOT WORKING ON THE ESTATE."

There is the alternative to the negro,

"work or starve." Does any one suppose that the negroes of Barbadoes would work any better than the negroes of Jamaica, if there were plenty of unoccupied land in that island, as there is in Jamaica, on which they could squat? If the negroes of Barbadoes are as enterprising as the Abolitionists would have us believe, why do they not emigrate to Jamaica, where labor is in such demand, much higher than in Barbadoes, and where land is plenty? The truth is easily told. The negro never emigrates voluntarily any where. He works when compelled to, and riots in idleness wherever he has a chance to show out his nature. It is doubtful, however, whether the production of sugar in Barbadoes is any larger now than it was nearly 200 years ago. It was one of the first islands in which the Spaniards cultivated sugar, and in 1676 the sugar-trade of Barbadoes required 400 vessels, of 150 tons each.* The production of sugar in 1852 was 48,000 hogsheads. In 1836, the tonnage of its shipping was 62,000, about the same as in 1676. It is, therefore, quite evident that there has not been a material change in Barbadoes for many years. The negroes have simply exchanged masters, and are probably now in a worse condition than under the old system.

We have thus traced, with some minuteness, the present condition of four

of the principal West-India Islands. Hayti, where the negro has been left mainly to himself, we have seen, has gone back to its original, uncultivated wilderness, and the inhabitants are sunk into the SAVAGISM OF THEIR AFRICAN ANCESTORS. They are rapidly losing even all conceptions of civilization, and, as soon as the mulattoes die out, the process will be complete. Abolitionism will have reared an African heathenism on this continent as the culmination of their bastard philanthropy. Civilization, and all the wants of civilization, are utterly ignored by the negroes of Hayti. The cotton, sugar, coffee, indigo, etc., which they ought to supply to the world, are left uncultivated.

Jamaica, the principal British West-India island, though the white population there has struggled against it, presents essentially the same features. Every where are desolation and ruin. These beautiful and fertile islands, perfect "gems of the sea," are turned over to savagism, and ruined upon the false and visionary idea that negroes are white men!

To present at a glance the effects of Free Negroism in the West-India Islands, and to sum up the whole subject in a brief space, it is only necessary to examine the following table, showing the deficit in production under "free negro labor:"

CONTRAST OF "SLAVE" NEGRO LABOR AND "FREE" NEGRO LABOR EXPORTS FROM THE WEST-INDIES.

"SLAVE" NEGRO LABOR.			
<i>Years.</i>	<i>lbs. Sugar.</i>	<i>lbs. Coffee.</i>	<i>lbs. Cotton.</i>
British West-Indies,	1807 636,025,643	31,610,764	17,000,000*
Hayti,	1790 163,318,810	76,835,219	7,286,126
Total,	809,344,453	108,245,983	24,286,126
"FREE" NEGRO LABOR.			
<i>Years.</i>	<i>lbs. Sugar.</i>	<i>lbs. Coffee.</i>	<i>lbs. Cotton.</i>
British West-Indies,	1843 313,306,112	6,770,792	427,529†
Hayti,	1848 very little	34,114,717‡	1,591,454‡
Total,	313,306,112	40,885,509	2,018,983
"Free" Negro Labor Deficit,	496,038,341	67,360,474	22,267,143

If it were necessary to add to the proof we have given, that it is the overthrow of the supremacy of the white race, and that alone, that has

produced this deplorable result, it is only required to cite the case of Cuba. Let Mr. Underhill, the British Abolitionist, from whom we have quoted, describe the difference between Cuba,

* Sugar: Its Culture and Consumption. By P. L. Simmonds, of London.

* 1800.

† 1840.

‡ 1847.

where "slavery" exists, and where it does not. Of Havana he says :

"It is the **BUSIEST AND MOST PROSPEROUS OF ALL THE CITIES OF THE ANTILLES**. Its harbor is one of the finest in the world, and is **CROWDED WITH SHIPPING**. Its wharves and warehouses are piled with merchandise, and the general aspect is one of **GREAT COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY**. Its exports nearly reach the annual value of **NINE MILLIONS STERLING, (\$45,000,000,)** and the customs furnish an annual tribute to the mother country over and above the cost of government and military occupation. **EIGHT THOUSAND SHIPS** annually resort to the harbor of Cuba."

Evidently Mr. Underhill had got into a new world. He saw it, and was struck with the contrast it presented to the dilapidated region he had just left. In order to show the contrast between the **PROGRESS** of Cuba, and the **DECLINE** of Jamaica, it is only necessary to give a few statistics. The value of the exports of Jamaica, in 1809, were greater than those of Cuba in 1826, and a comparison of the two islands gives the following :

Jamaica, in 1809,.....	\$15,166,000
Cuba, in 1826,.....	13,809,388
Jamaica, in 1854,.....	4,480,661
Cuba, in 1854,.....	31,683,731

What a picture is this of free negroism ! What can the Abolitionist, who prates of free negroes laboring, say to these facts and figures ? Cuba has been just as steadily advancing as Jamaica has been retrograding.

The productiveness of Cuba is most astonishing. Her exports are *more per head than those of any other country on the face of the globe*. Her export and import trade for 1859 was as follows :*

Exports for 1859,	\$57,455,185
Imports for 1859,.....	43,465,185

Showing an excess of exports over imports of\$13,989,506

Now, the population of Cuba is only about one million and a half, all told, black and white. Upon analyzing the above figures, then, it will be seen that

* Balanza General Del Comercio de la Isla de Cuba en 1859. Habana: 1861.

the exports of Cuba amount to about \$40 per head for each man, woman and child on the island ! At the same time it should be noted that this great production is not all exchanged for articles imported, but there is a net income or surplus of exports over imports of \$13,989,506.

This net surplus of wealth amounts to \$9.32 cents for each man, woman and child in Cuba. No other country in the world can present such a picture of prosperity, and yet Cuba is by no means as productive as she might be. Through a mistaken policy, or supposed kindness to the negro, manumissions are easily procured, and freed negroes are multiplying so rapidly that her welfare will, ere long, be very seriously impaired, unless the evil be checked.

But it will be instructive to take a glance at our own exports and imports, so that we may be able to see how much we are dependent upon negro labor for our prosperity. The exports of the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1860, embracing specie and American produce, amounted to \$373,167,461 ; in addition to which we also re-exported about \$27,000,000 of foreign produce, the result standing as follows :

Exports for 1859-60,.....	\$400,167,465
Imports for 1859-60,.....	361,727,209
Excess of exports over imports....	\$38,370,252

This gives a net surplus of only \$1.26 cents per capita, while in Cuba, an exclusively negro labor country, it is \$9.32 per head. Taking our *aggregate* domestic exports, and making a similar comparison, we find, calling our population in round numbers thirty millions, that our exports per head are \$12.43, against \$40 per capita in Cuba.

Having shown now that the exports of the United States, North, South and West amount, we will call it, to \$12½ per head, it will be interesting to *analyze* these exports and see where they come from. To whom is the country mainly indebted for this surplus wealth, which enables us to buy and pay for nearly four hundred mil-

lions of foreign goods per year? It is very certain that we can have no imports, unless we have something to pay for them. Nor can we have any commerce unless we have something to sell which other nations want. It has been shown that the specie and American produce exported were, as above stated, \$373,167,461; of this amount the specie was \$56,946,851. The amount of American produce consequently exported was \$316,220,610.

We propose to classify the amount furnished exclusively by the free States, the amount furnished by both the free and "slave" States, (which it is impossible to separate and designate the respective amount furnished by each,) and the amount furnished exclusively by the "slave" States.

FREE STATES EXCLUSIVELY.

Fisheries,.....	\$4,156,480
Coal,.....	731,817
Ice,.....	183,134
Total free States,.....	\$5,071,431

FREE AND SLAVE STATES.

Products of the forest,.....	\$11,756,060
Products of agriculture,.....	20,206,265
Vegetable food,.....	25,656,494
Manufactures,.....	35,154,644
Manufactured articles,.....	2,397,031
Raw produce,.....	1,355,805
Total free and slave States,...	\$96,826,299

SLAVE STATES EXCLUSIVELY.

Cotton,.....	\$191,806,555
Tobacco,.....	15,906,547
Rosin and turpentine,.....	3,734,527
Rice,.....	2,566,390
Tar and pitch,.....	151,095
Brown sugar,.....	103,244
Molasses,.....	41,562
Hemp,.....	8,951
Total slave States,.....	\$214,322,880

RECAPITULATION.

Free States exclusively,.....	\$5,071,431
Free and slave States,.....	96,826,299
Slave States exclusively,.....	214,322,880
Total,.....	\$316,220,610

If any one will analyze the articles embraced in the amount, \$96,826,299, belonging alike to the North and the South, he can not fail to come to the conclusion that at least one third is justly the product of negro labor. The result, then, stands as follows:

Exports of Southern States,.....	\$246,598,313
Exports of Northern ".....	69,622,297

Total,.....\$316,220,610

Calling the population of the North, in round numbers, twenty millions, and the population of the South ten millions, we have the significant fact that while the exports of the North amount to only \$3.45 per head, those of the South amount to \$24.65!* It is not intended by this statement to deny that the North has vast industry, but white men, in a temperate or cold latitude, *consume* nearly all the products of their own labor, and hence it is, that in all ages, every nation which has acquired wealth and power, obtained them from tropical regions where the inferior races, in their normal relation to the superior race, produced them. It is thus self-evident that nearly all the wealth of our country is derived from negro servitude, for wealth is the surplus of production over consumption. The North has but little over—the South a great deal. It is the tropical regions which must be relied upon for this surplus wealth. When Spain held all her tropical possessions on this Continent, it is estimated that her net income from them was not less than \$50,000,000 annually, and she was the mistress of the world. When she lost them, her greatness and wealth declined, and she soon sunk to a third or fourth-rate power. Of late years she has been improving, and if she do not commit the folly of overthrowing the natural relation of the races, she will rapidly advance in power, wealth, and prosperity.

There is one other view of this question, which is very important,

* To this statement it may be objected that the North sends a vast quantity of produce and manufactured articles to the South, but it should be remembered that the South also sends a vast quantity of *her* produce North. Our consumption of cotton is about \$55,000,000; of sugar, \$25,000,000; besides naval stores, rice, tobacco, etc., which do not enter into our calculation of Southern exports, any more than the Northern articles sent South enter into the exports of the North. Our calculation is based upon the *foreign* exports, as these only represent the *surplus* wealth of the country.

and is worthy the careful attention of every person who desires to be well informed upon the *causes* of the greatness, grandeur and prosperity of his country. It is frequently asserted, by thoughtless people, who have never investigated this subject, that the North has supported the South, paid the expenses of the government, etc. Now, all *imports* are based upon *exports*, and hence it is the *exports*

which, in fact, furnish the revenue of a country, and *not* the imports, for the latter are but the representative of the former, without which they could not exist. Taking the history of our government for forty years, this view of the case presents some most astounding results, which are condensed with much labor in the following table :

RETURNS FROM THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT AT WASHINGTON, SHOWING THE VALUE OF THE EXPORTS AND IMPORTS FOR FORTY YEARS, FROM 1821 TO 1861, WITH THE CUSTOMS PAID DURING THE SAME TIME TO THE UNITED STATES.

Gross value of exports, from 1821 to 1861,.....	\$5,556,401,272
“ “ imports, “ “	5,501,238,157
Customs duties on imports, paid in the U. S. Treasury,.....	1,191,874,443

TOTAL UNITED STATES EXPORTS FOR FORTY YEARS.

Cotton,.....	\$2,574,834,991	
Tobacco,.....	424,118,067	
Rice,.....	87,851,511	
Naval stores,.....	110,981,296	
	\$3,198,850,965	Amount of Duty.
		\$689,141,805
Food,.....	1,006,951,325	216,682,773
Gold,.....	458,588,615	95,349,955
Crude articles, manufactures, etc,.....	892,010,457	190,699,910
	\$5,556,401,272	\$1,191,874,443

EXPORTS FROM THE SOUTH EXCLUSIVELY, FOR FORTY YEARS.

Cotton,.....	\$2,574,834,991	
Tobacco,.....	425,118,067	Amount of Duty, paid
Rice,.....	87,854,511	by the South.
Naval stores,.....	110,981,296	\$689,141,805
One third of food,.....	335,650,411	72,227,591
40 per cent. gold, *.....	183,588,615	38,139,982
	\$3,718,026,991	\$799,508,378
Amount of duty from the North,.....		392,365,965
Difference,.....		\$407,244,313

It will thus be seen that Southern products have contributed to the support of the government nearly \$800,000,000, while Northern products have contributed less than half that sum! Can there be any doubt, therefore, in the mind of any candid and sensible

* Some people, without reflecting, may suppose that this estimate, giving the South one third of the gold production for forty years, is too high; but they should recollect that the estimate is made for forty years, and we have had gold from California for only ten or twelve years. Previous to that time we depended entirely upon the mines of Georgia, North and South Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland for our gold. These mines have been very productive, the Dorn mine in South-Carolina bringing to the U. S. Mint, at Charlotte, \$220,000 to \$225,000 annually.

person, that this country owes its unparalleled prosperity to negro labor? We do not mean to say that this difference arises from any inferiority of Northern or superiority of Southern men, but solely from that *universal law of nature, that the cultivation of the tropics, carried on by the enforced labor of the inferior races, produces a large surplus over consumption, while white men in temperate latitudes consume nearly all they produce. Destroy this cultivation, and you destroy Northern commerce, labor, mechanics, manufactures, etc., etc., and reduce white men to poverty and privation.*

The comparative value of free negro labor and “slave” negro labor is

also forcibly illustrated in the *progress* of our own country, when compared with those places where the negro has been deprived of the guidance of the white man. It is often the habit of Abolition writers to compare the value of "free" and "slave" labor, in order to show the vast superiority of the former over the latter. But they are always very careful to have the comparison to occur between white labor and negro labor. They never DARE to make a comparison between negro "FREE" labor and negro "SLAVE" labor. As white men are superior to negroes, their labor ought to be superior to theirs, and in all latitudes where white labor is available, it is more valuable, because more intelligent. There is no sense, therefore, in comparing Ohio with Alabama, simply because there are no grounds for a comparison. The white man could not do the work of the negro in Alabama, nor could the negro do the work of the intelligent farmer in Ohio. The real question is, are the Southern States in a better condition than the free negro countries? This is the correct test as to the success of free negroism. It is only necessary, in order to answer this question, to show the constant and steady increase of the great staple of cotton—a product that has done more for the comfort and happiness of the great toiling masses than any and all other productions of modern times:

Years.	Total Bales.	Export Value.
1800	35,000	\$5,726,000
1824	509,158	21,947,401
1830	870,415	29,671,883
1835	1,251,328	64,961,302
1840	2,177,532	63,870,303
1845	2,394,593	51,739,643
1850	2,756,709	71,981,616
1851	2,355,257	112,315,317
1852	3,015,029	87,965,732
1853	3,262,882	109,156,104
1854	2,930,027	93,596,220
1855	2,847,339	88,143,844
1856	3,527,841	128,382,351
1857	2,939,519	131,575,859
1858	3,113,962	131,386,661
1859	3,851,481	161,434,923
1860	4,300,000	184,400,000

What a grand and noble picture does not this present! Yet in 1817, the production of cotton in the West-Indies and the United States was just about the same! and Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Geo. Thompson and Dr. Channing, at the time of the West-India emancipation, predicted that free negro labor would soon drive all "slave" grown cotton out of the market! These architects of ruin, however, shut their eyes to the desolation they have achieved, and now, with the malignity of demons, desire to bring the calamities upon our own hitherto prosperous and happy country, which have marked the progress of the free-negro delusion in other places.

The territory cursed by free negroism in the West-Indies, however, is but a small portion of the space now blighted in the same manner. We have given no statistics of the condition of all that vast territory, comprising the fairest and most beautiful portion of our continent, extending from the Rio Grande almost to the Amazon. When it was under its Spanish conquerors, this territory, almost as large as the whole United States, was largely productive. Its capabilities, however, were never developed to any thing like their full extent, yet such cultivation as was commenced has been almost wholly abandoned. The country may be truly described as a desert, with only here and there an oasis, where a rude kind of cultivation produces just enough to let the world know that it is not an entire waste. Brazil, on the south, is the first spot where commerce and trade exist to any great extent, and there the negro has NOT BEEN FREED. We are thus able to count up, with perfect ease, the only places where tropical production is now carried on on this Continent—Cuba, Porto Rico, our own Gulf States and Brazil! Just four comparatively small green spots amid the wild and uncultivated yet fertile and glorious tropical regions of the western hemisphere!

PART III.

THE EFFECT OF EMANCIPATION UPON
TRADE, COMMERCE, AGRICULTURE,
AND WHITE LABOR.

No nation or people, from the days of imperial Babylon, has ever been great in wealth or power which did not possess the trade of the tropical regions of a continent. The wealth of the East-Indies made England what she is. With the riches which poured into her coffers, from 1750, after she expelled the Dutch from India, she was enabled to crush Napoleon, and raise herself to that power in the world which was formerly swayed by Rome. The rise and fall of imperial greatness in Asia and Europe has been determined by the possession of the trade of the East-Indies, where the enforced labor of two hundred millions of natives has formed an ever-flowing stream of wealth.

The Creator has intended our own tropical regions to be productive. They were not made "to waste their sweetness on the desert air." How are they to be made productive? That is the practical question of the hour. The negro has been brought here from Africa, where he had been a wild, untutored savage for centuries, just what he must and will be forever, (so far as we are able to judge by all the facts before us,) when he is separated from the white man. This negro has been made available for just the work to be done. The white men of this continent need and MUST HAVE cotton, sugar, coffee, indigo, and spices. Without these, civilization is put back five hundred years. True, we MIGHT again drag along as our ancestors did, the rich only being able to afford good clothing. The poor might manufacture their own by spinning, and carding, and weaving. Sugar, coffee, etc., might be again unknown luxuries. The farmer might have little or no market for his grains; but this would not satisfy us. These articles must be had, and they can not be had

without the enforced labor of the negro.

Already white men have been, and are to-day, seriously taxed on account of emancipation of this negro. Take the two items of sugar and coffee alone. If we estimate the decline in the production of sugar and coffee by the reduction that has taken place in Jamaica and other places, it is fair to calculate that, were all the negroes, now lolling in the sun, eating yams and laughing at white men, set to work, we should have at least THREE TIMES the amount of both articles now produced. Such a production would decrease the price at least ONE HALF, thus furnishing the white men of this country with their groceries at fifty per cent less than present prices.

Let us look at this subject a little more closely. The "grocery bill" of the people of the United States is computed* annually at \$86,928,000. Our imports of coffee, sugar, tobacco, and molasses, for 1853, amounted in value to \$38,479,000, of which the negro "slaves" of Cuba and Brazil supplied \$34,451,000. The balance of these four articles that we need, \$48,449,000, is the product of our own "slave" States. The "grocery bill" of the people of the United States, therefore, stands indebted as follows:

To Negro "Slave" labor.....	\$82,900,000
To all other sources.....	4,028,000

A great many well-meaning people no doubt sincerely believe that it would be good policy to emancipate the negroes engaged in producing this \$82,000,000 worth of groceries for the North. If it were done, the result is apparent. All kinds of groceries would rise in price to such an extent that no one but perhaps the wealthy classes could afford to use them. The negro, if freed in the tropical regions, ceases to produce; and all know that the less of an article produced, the higher the price, and of course the greater the tax upon the consumer. Every negro, therefore, lazily squatting in the West-Indies, and, as the *London Times* says, "sniggering at

* Professor David Christy, in *Cotton is King*.

Buckra," takes something from the pocket of every consumer of sugar, coffee, and molasses. The cost of tropical productions is now fifty per cent above what it ought to be. Coffee ought to be had for about the tax now upon it, and sugar in proportion. We are paying nearly NINETY MILLIONS of dollars annually for our groceries—FORTY MILLIONS of it at least ought to be saved, and would be, if every negro were fulfilling the Heaven-decreed ordinance of labor.

But the tax of emancipation upon the North is not fully seen in the increased price of coffee, sugar, tobacco, etc. Every negro freed in the tropics becomes at once a non-consumer of Northern products. When at work on the plantation, he eats bacon and bread, and is furnished with plenty of good, coarse clothing, shoes, hats, etc. When freed, as we have shown, he eats yams and plantains mainly, and consumes little or nothing of Northern productions. The farmer and mechanic, therefore, are taxed by his idleness in two ways—First, by an increase in the price of coffee, sugar, etc.; and secondly, by a decrease in the DEMAND for their own productions. It was not until the extension of "slavery" occurred in Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, that the Western farmer began to get any thing like remunerative prices for his grain. And it is a singular fact that, the column of black labor on the Gulf, and of white labor above the 36th parallel of latitude, have kept right along *pari passu*. The one is the handmaid of the other. Carry out emancipation on the Gulf, and you destroy the farmer in Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, and Iowa. It would be of little use to remove the blockade of the Mississippi if the negro is to be freed. Sectional agitators have educated the Northern mind to believe that there is an antagonism between what they call "free and slave labor," that is, between white labor and negro labor. Now, the real truth is that there never was a more perfect harmony in the world than that existing between white labor and

negro labor, and when we say negro labor, we mean so-called "slave" labor, for we must disabuse ourselves of the fallacy, that there is any such a thing as *productive free negro labor*. The negro, as we have shown, on a plantation, becomes a consumer of the agricultural productions of the Northern farmer, and the skilled labor of the Northern mechanic. His labor therefore sets in motion cotton factories and machine-shops. THE MUSCLES OF THE NEGRO AND THE INTELLECT OF THE WHITE MAN THUS BECOME THE GREAT AGENCIES OF MODERN CIVILIZATION. The exchange of the products of the one for the other constitutes OUR COMMERCE, gives employment to shipping, erects our banks, lines our streets with marble palaces, and makes a rocky island like New-York, the seat of untold wealth. Destroy this tropical production, that is, emancipate the negroes, and the commerce that flows from it would be annihilated, and New-York would be in the position of the city of Alexandria when the Portuguese discovered the route for the East-India commerce by the way of the Cape of Good Hope.

But people often say, is not the North great and powerful by herself? We answer, as history attests, that no nation has ever been great in commerce and wealth that did not have the trade of the tropical regions of a continent. What are all the productions of agriculture unless there is a market for them? The matter can be illustrated thus: Suppose all the negroes of Brazil, Cuba, and the Southern States, from which we now derive all our groceries, were set to raising grain, etc., for their own subsistence. Of course there would be no exchange of commodities and no commerce. The world is constituted with different climates and productions for the purposes of exchange and commerce. Each hemisphere has its temperate and tropical regions, and those regions require different labor. To overthrow that form of labor, by which only the tropics

can be cultivated, is as criminal as it would be to overthrow the system of labor necessary for the temperate latitudes. The tropics can not be cultivated by "freed" negroes any more than the temperate latitudes could be by putting white men in slavery. Looking to Europe as a market for our agricultural productions is a mistake. Each hemisphere of the world is mainly independent of the other. For centuries they existed without the knowledge of each other. The foreign call for our agricultural productions occurs perhaps in one year out of five, but our real and permanent markets are the tropics of our own continent, and to these our farmers should direct their attention. If every negro in Mexico, Central America, New-Granada, and the West-Indies, were this day industriously at work, we judge each white laborer in the North would have his wages increased nearly one half, while the cost of articles for his family would be decreased in about the same ratio. The Western farmer, now getting only eight or ten cents per bushel for his corn, ought to and would then get twenty-five cents. Each man, therefore, can compute the expense of emancipation as it effects himself personally. The laboring classes, then, instead of living in close, ill-ventilated apartments, where the light of day is scarcely permitted to enter, might afford neat and agreeable cottages. The demoralization of huddling human beings together would be mainly obviated, and the education, intelligence, and morality of the white population vastly increased. While emancipation has conferred no benefit on the negro, yet its most serious results have fallen on *white men*. It enslaves them, it binds burdens upon them, and if in contact with this free negro, he becomes their legal equal, and among the debased and vicious leads to amalgamation. Philanthropists have dreamed of social reforms, of the elevation of the white laboring classes, and predicted a future wherein want should be comparatively unknown, and labor meet

an adequate reward; but they have been looking for it through social reforms, perhaps convulsions. The great want is remunerative labor. Where can it be had? is the universal cry. The farmer wants better prices for his grain, the mechanic for his labor. Why do they not get them? The answer is summed up: *Thirty degrees of latitude on our continent are almost a desert waste. The finest countries the sun of heaven ever shone upon are a wilderness simply because no one will "till the ground." Hence there is not sufficient market for the farmer, the mechanic, for the laborer of ... temperate latitude. He has no one who stands ready to consume what he is anxious to produce, and there is no one ready to produce what he stands ready to purchase. Shall we, therefore, go on in this career of folly? Shall we shut our eyes to facts, and in sheer party madness rush on to national suicide? All around us are scattered the ruins of emancipation. Torn and distracted Mexico, desolate and wild Central America, silent and deserted New-Granada, ruined and savage Hayti, dilapidated and broken-down Jamaica, all testify in thunder tones to beware of the breakers of emancipation. On the contrary, Brazil, Cuba, and Porto Rico are the marts of commerce and trade. Wherever the negro occupies the relation of servitude to the white man, all is happiness and prosperity. Where he does not, all is social chaos and blight.*

CONCLUSION.

1. The foregoing pages show that these naturally fertile regions have been nearly withdrawn from the commerce of the world. The little that remains springs from a lingering force of former improvements, or from articles requiring little culture to prepare them for a market.

2. It appears that a gradual Africanization is passing over the people, which points back to their fatherland for its permanent type—a type which has been the same ever since the

Portuguese attempted to civilize by Christianizing the west coast of Africa, nearly four hundred years ago.

Had these and other fields of emancipation around the Gulf kept their former position in the market of the world, or had they obviously lost that position by misfortune, they would have furnished an argument in favor of further emancipations. Their American friends predicted and hoped for this result. Their English friends (except the planters in Jamaica) cared little about it; for they were still nauseous over our revolution, and cherished a rival interest in Asia, Australia, and the Eastern Islands.

Our reformers are slow to admit the whole truth of these results. They denied for a long time, then tried to excuse the thriftless course of these people, and now, under political pressure, they allege that the separation of master and servant must be effected without regard to consequences of this sort.

The price paid by England to separate the master and servant in Jamaica was the boast of the whole English press, as a vast sacrifice to the cause of African civilization. Not so now. There has been a larger generalization; new elements have come into the argument; the discussion has ranged over the relations of an *unlimited* population to a *limited* surface of a food-growing earth; and the *London Times* has more than intimated that Exeter Hall had led the British Parliament into a social blunder in regard to Jamaica. But the English press is now nearly unanimous in the conclusion that the only good done to the Africans in Jamaica and St. Domingo has been to deliver them from labor, and consequently from appearing in the commerce of the world. And, to turn the sharp edge of this conclusion, some of the English social philosophers ask: "What business is it of the whites, that the blacks in America shall do one thing or another, or nothing?"

If mere exemption from moderate labor is the sum of all the good to

the emancipated, in return for the Africanization of the tropical regions of America—and this concession is claimed from the whites in cold climates of the United States—then we must look deeper into the relation of the two races north of the Gulf of Mexico, and our reformers must not be surprised if we ultimately, in behalf of a common humanity, put a stop to the Africanization on the south side of the Gulf.

The two races had wants which could be better supplied in America than in Europe or Africa. The whites foresaw their future; but the blacks could not, because they know no past; and therefore the whites constrained the blacks to come.

The whites took the cold climate, and placed the blacks in the warm, just as they had been at home.

The whites left feudal masters, in a small country, and gained large freeholds in a great country.

The blacks left little and gained much. The blacks gained a full supply of the wants of themselves and their families, with freedom from care about an employer, a sick-day, a sick family, a birth or a funeral. Never before had they fancied such a condition of life.

The blacks left the same cannibal tribes, the same fetishes and witches, and the same wars, which Du Châliu found in Africa five years ago, where the chief of the last tribe he reached, in the interior, sent him, as a complimentary breakfast, a little boy to be roasted. America is the Paradise of the blacks. Would they leave it? The Colonization Society asked them, Mr. Lincoln asked them. Did they go? Political emancipation may constrain a few; military necessity may drive more; but the millions will be buried where they were born, in the sunny South. The blacks never have regretted that their race was brought to America.

THE PROBLEM TO BE SOLVED.

But the blacks were placed in America as coöperating partners of the whites. They grow large, and

strong, and healthful, and long-lived on the food and clothing produced for them. Their coöperation is the essence of our prosperity: they must not spoil it. We are as essential to each other as boys on the opposite ends of an up-and-down plank. They have the warm end of the plank, and we the cold. The cold constrains us to work hard to provide for a long winter; and nothing but *changing work* with them makes our winter tolerable, and bring us through.

On an east and west line, in the same climate, coöperative labor may be useful, if the one country is more advanced in its manufactures, or if it is rich in mines, but, even then, the utility requires that she shall have free access to tropical products. If the coal and iron and consequent manufactures of England induce her to take our corn and pork, it is because she gets from Asia and Brazil the price of her goods to pay us; and the time may come when we shall make similar goods for those markets. If England should sink in the ocean, it would not permanently check the prosperity of American civilization. Our coal and iron fields would work us out. But let our tropical lands (which are made small by the Gulf of Mexico) be sunk from our commerce, by Africanization, and we shall go down together. Labor-saving machines can not save us. The steam-engines down-town could not build palaces up-town and colleges at Princeton, by the *cheap manufacture* of sugar, if like engines did not *first produce cheap* sugar in the *tropics*. Machinery only makes the relations of the two races more essential to the North. For the machines open the way for a four-fold population in the North *only* on condition that the South increases its products for our use. Our great civilization rose on the abundance and cheapness of tropical products. Tropical cotton and wool in New-England enriched the boys and girls who peopled the West, and the West nursed her millions, because of the interchanges above and below Cairo.

HOW THE MODERATE LABOR OF THE BLACKS GIVES SOME LEISURE AND LUXURY TO THE WHITES.

Climate is the chief agent in this operation. The effects of climate on men and things teach laws, on this subject, which must be observed by those who would go with us in the further examination of this matter.

By the mere difference of climate, one cotton or cane field, under the same labor, is worth four corn-fields, and the support of the laborer costs less. The three fourths saved by climate are claimed by capital, commerce, and cold, and accumulate in the North.

But the products are such as we can not dispense with. The loss of them would send us back to the age of the Crusades. What sort of a toilet would a lady make of mere wool and flax? What sort of a table could a matron set forth with Indian corn, insipid pumpkins, sour apples, hard cider, and fox-grapes, without the sweets, spices, and coffee of the South?

The first smile that relaxed the grim face of the Pilgrims was raised by the sight of a West-India trader. And, perhaps, an abundant and cheap supply of tropical products induced a Boston minister to say at thanksgiving, that while he was very proud of his descent from the Puritans, he was equally thankful that the Puritans had not descended to us. The genial power of these products is akin to that of sun-rays. It can melt the iron heart of a disappointed reformer, and almost soften into modesty the temper of an escaped martyr!

Before the use of cotton-machinery, the English ships used to go, once in each year, to the Deccan, carrying food to the poor serfs, who made India shirting for our use, at one dollar a yard. They had made their cloths as usual, had delivered his share to the landlord, and waited for the ships to fetch them food; but the machines had made better cloths in England, at half the price. No ship came; and one hundred thousand of the tenants died of starvation.

To us, the failure of the blacks to cooperate will entail just as sure a diminution of the people, but it will come more gradually, and be less obvious, because the market of the world will be open, to give us temporary relief, until the prices of a diminished supply of cotton, groceries, etc., lift them out of our reach; and we turn from one cheap article to another, until insufficient food, and clothing, and fuel do their work of grinding a large and vigorous population into a small and weak peasantry.

We have shown that had all the blacks, whose labor has been withdrawn by emancipation, continued in the field, they would have been better provided for than they are now, and we might have had sugar at four cents a pound, and cotton and coffee at eight.

But this would not have met the requirement of the "reformers" in England and France. The same spirit has spread over our "reformers." No adjustment, no amendment, no melioration of the tie that binds the blacks to cooperation can be accepted. It is vain to show them, by the sad examples in these pages, that the blacks, being once fairly off the plank, are not likely to return. They talk of the unrequited labor of the blacks. We answer them, by comparing their requital with that of the laboring class in the North. They talk of hardships in the South, and we prove to them that there is more laughing and dancing on one plantation than in a dozen Northern factories. They talk of religious privileges, and we show them that there is as much singing, and praying, and preaching, and as large communions among the blacks as among the whites in the North.

But the blacks are not free. The whole history in these pages shows that, in the vocabulary of the blacks, liberty is a license not to work. And the whole matter comes to this: a necessity is laid on the "reformers!" They have a mission from human nature. A moral necessity is upon them. They are sent to preach the gospel of laziness to the blacks! They have put some of their spirit upon the President. He catches the idea of the mission, that it is the gospel of laziness. Being a military chieftain, he feels a military necessity to cut the cord which binds the blacks to the whites, and then, to rid his country of the laziness, he beseeches the blacks to go away—somewhere: and beseeches us to pay somebody a thousand millions of dollars for the privilege of abstaining from cotton, coffee, and sugar.

The "reformers" have had help. The war brought on by their movement has precipitated the practical results of a success which is not yet quite sure. Practically the link is broken—the blacks are pushed off the plank, and we of the North, who are not in office, are rolling in the dirt. The sugar and the coffee are gone out of the laborer's dinner-pail; his ragged cotton-shirt can not be replaced; the Sunday-clothes of his children are unsightly; (the son who used to work at his side is drafted;) but yield not to despair! Carry these symbols of a poverty not induced by your fault to the assembly of these apostles of laziness, and hold them up to their eyes, and say *you did it*. And when the day of deliverance comes, march with your comrades to the ballot-box and say to these "reformers," Now, *we* will do it.

HOW EMANCIPATION WORKS TO-DAY.

As pertinent to this subject, illustrating the effects of the emancipation theory as it is operating under our own eyes, this very year, we append the following from Gen. Banks's department, New-Orleans and its vicinity. Recalling to mind the anti-slavery proclivities and the antecedents of General Banks, and the character of the New-Orleans *Picayune*, under the dominant influence of those there in power, we may give more than ordinary weight to the testimony here adduced to show the essential character of the negro, and the effects of emancipation upon him and society. In this as in every other attempt to carry out their emancipation ideas, under the influence of their visionary anti-slavery hostility, these theorists are compelled, in spite of themselves, to return to the system of enforced labor which is slavery.

From the New-Orleans Picayune, Feb. 1863.

THE NEGRO QUESTION IN THIS DEPARTMENT.

Gen. Banks has responded to the general desire to know what course he would pursue upon the negro question in this department, through his "General Orders, No. 12," published in our columns yesterday morning. The subject is now fairly before our planters and others for their consideration. It is an exceedingly practical matter, and one of no small importance. The time is now at hand when, if at all, work must commence upon plantations in order to make a crop. What therefore shall be done? Shall there be any crops made? or shall the

plantations be allowed to go to ruin? These questions must be promptly answered or they will gradually answer themselves. It is certainly true that "wise men will do what they can when they can not do what they would." It is clearly the part of wisdom to make the most of the condition in which we find ourselves placed, to do the best we can when we can not do what we would. Nobody will counsel idleness on the part of gangs of negroes throughout the entire season. This would subject them to all the evils of hunger and crime, and entail a curse upon the inhabitants which is already onerous, and would become every day more so.

Gen. Banks declares that "under no circumstances whatever can they be maintained in idleness, or allowed to wander through the parishes and cities of the State without employment. Vagrancy and crime will be suppressed by an enforced and constant occupation and employment." The negro idea of freedom generally is to have plenty to eat, and to lie all day in the sun and sleep! Doubtless hundreds left comfortable homes with the expectation of realizing this rather peculiar elysium. When the hordes of runaways learn, as they soon will now, that they can not be maintained in idleness, they will probably be willing to return to their homes, to industry, and to plenty. Some have done this already, after having had a little experience under the altered state of things, and learned what this much talked of mode of living without work really amounts to. Some of them have had glimpses of the ele-

phant, and do not desire a second sight of him. It is probable, under these circumstances, we think, that planters will not find it difficult to effect an arrangement with their servants, by which the accustomed labors upon the plantation may be again resumed. Such an arrangement once made, the Commanding General says, it "shall be enforced on the part of the negroes by the officers of the government," and that this shall include

all the conditions of continuous and faithful service, respectful deportment, correct discipline, and perfect subordination," and "under such regulations as will tend to keep families together, and to impart self-supporting habits to the negroes."

Great numbers of these people have already died, and multitudes more will unless they are promptly sent back to work upon the plantations where they can receive the food to which they

have been accustomed, and resume again the habits of their lives. It is a great mistake to suppose that the negro can stand any thing and every thing better than the white laboring man. He can stand the heat better, that is, a hot climate is more congenial to his nature; but change his food and his habits, and he sinks more rapidly than the white man. His body and mind are alike feeble, and both require the paternal care and superior wisdom of the master. To place these now idle hordes back upon the plantations is, therefore, a work of genuine humanity, while it will be a relief to the community and will promote its interests. If we can not do what we would, let us do what we can, and make the most of our circumstances.

Common-sense, duty, and patriotism alike demand it.

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